

## Message Text

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21

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 AF-06 NEA-09 CU-02 ERDA-05

CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01

PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00

DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01 /094 W

----- 076243

R 080918Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1780

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USMISSION NATO

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USIA WASHDC

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 3156

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, SP, PO

SUBJECT: SPANISH ASSESSMENT OF CSCE

REF: A. MOSCOW 5822

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B. GENEVA 3061

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: SPAIN BELIEVES PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS WILL CONDITION FUTURE OF INTRA-EUROPEAN RELATIONS MORE THAN OUTCOME OF CSCE. GOS SEES WEST COMING OUT OF CSCE WITH LESS THAN SOVIETS AND IDEOLOGICAL TIGHTENING ALREADY UNDERWAY IN EAST EUROPE. TIME-CONSUMING, SUBSTANCE-POOR CSCE HAS HAD ONLY MARGINAL ATTRACTIVENESS TO SPAIN EVEN WITH POSSIBILITY OF SUMMIT WITH PRESENCE OF PREMIER ARIAS NAVARRO. END SUMMARY

2. PROMPTED BY EXCELLENT ANALYSIS PROVIDED IN REFTELS, EMBASSY CHECKED MAY 5 WITH MFA DIRECTOR OF EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS WHO HAS FOLLOWED CSCE TALKS. FOLLOWING IS HIS ASSESSMENT OF CSCE:

3. FROM OUTSET GOS HAS REGARDED CSCE AS SOMEWHAT MARGINAL ACTIVITY AS SPAIN WAS RELATIVELY FAR FROM CENTRAL EUROPE WHICH GAS BELIEVED TO BE MAIN INTEREST OF NEGOTIATIONS, PARTICULARLY AS SOVIET VEHICLE FOR CONSOLIDATING ITS POST WORLD WAR II POSITION IN EUROPE. DIRECTOR SAID THAT HIS SUPERIOR IN MFA -- AGUIRRE DE CARCER, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF EUROPE -- SAW SOME USEFULNESS IN CSCE BUT HE THOUGHT NEGOTIATIONS HAD PROVED TIME-CONSUMING AND LACKING IN GENUINE SUBSTANCE. USSR HAS SEEKING TO GIVE IMPRESSION OF BEING MAJOR PROMOTER OF PEACE IN EUROPE AND WOULD FOLLOW UP CSCE WITH OTHER INITIATIVES TO KEEP EUROPEANS ENGAGED IN INTERMINABLE DISCUSSIONS, MEETINGS, AND CONFERENCES TO REINFORCE IMAGE OF THE PEACE-MAKER. ON BALANCE, USSR STOOD TO GAIN MORE FROM CSCE THAN WEST.

4. MFA DIRECTOR SAID PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS HAD SUPERSEDED CSCE IN IMPORTANCE IN TERMS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND SHOULD BE WEIGHED CAREFULLY IN SCHEDULING STAGE III OF CSCE. TIMING SHOULD NOT BE PRECIPITOUS IN CONCLUDING STAGE II, INASMUCH AS IT MAY BE FEW MONTHS BEFORE FINAL DIRECTION OF PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION IS VISIBLE. SOVIETS ARE UNDER PRESSURE TO CONCLUDE CSCE (DIRECTOR SAID THAT ALL EE REPS IN MADRID HAD CALLED ON HIM, ALMOST SIMULTANEOUSLY, TO URGE SUPPORT FOR PROMPT CONCLUSION OF GENEVA TALKS), BUT WEST HAD VITAL INTEREST IN AWAITING CLARIFICATION OF REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN PORTUGAL. CONFIDENTIAL

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5. RE CSCE FOLLOW-UP, GOS SUPPORTS DANISH PROPOSAL FOR TRIAL PERIOD FOLLOWING STAGE III WHICH WOULD PERMIT CHECK ON INITIAL RESULTS OF CSCE.

6. ON FORM OF FINAL DOCUMENTS, GOS PREFERS ONE SINGLE DOCUMENT BELIEVING THAT OTHERWISE SOVIETS WILL SUCCEED IN DENATURING VALUE OF COMMITMENTS. DIRECTOR REPORTED

THAT GOS MISSIONS IN EE HAD ALREADY NOTED GRADUAL  
IDEOLOGICAL TIGHTENING WHICH PRESAGED ROUGH GOING FOR  
BASKET THREE RESULTS.

7. GOS VIEWED STAGE III SUMMIT MEETING AS POSSIBLY USEFUL  
VEHICLE FOR ENHANCING POLITICAL PROFILE OF ARIAS NAVARRO,  
BUT DID NOT ATTACH TOO MUCH IMPORTANCE TO IT OTHERWISE.

8. COMMENT: AT OUTSET OF CSCE, SPANISH SHOWED CONSIDERABLE  
ENTHUSIASM, PROBABLY BECAUSE CONFERENCE GAVE THEM OPPORTUNITY  
FOR FULL PARTICIPATION IN ALL-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS ON EQUAL  
FOOTING WITH OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN STATES AND PROVIDED  
OPPORTUNITY FOR POLITICAL CONTACT WITH SOVIETS AND EASTERN  
EUROPEANS. EARLY IN PROCESS SPANISH SPONSORED SOME  
INITIATIVES, BUT AS CONFERENCE HAS DRAGGED ON, SPAIN'S  
PARTICIPATION SEEMS TO HAVE BECOME MORE PRO-FORMA. LINKAGE  
OF PORTUGAL WITH CSCE IS ONE MORE INDICATION OF  
SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH GOS REGARDS EVENTS IN IBERIAN  
NEIGHBOR. MFA DIRECTOR VOICED CONSIDERABLE  
CRITICISM OF WEST EUROPEANS IN GENEVA FOR SPENDING SO MUCH  
TIME PALAVERING WHILE REAL THREAT TO ATLANTIC COMMUNITY  
WAS ALMOST TOTALLY IGNORED IN PORTUGAL. ALTHOUGH THIS  
JUDGMENT MAY SEEM OVERSTATED, IT HAS MERIT OF BRINGING OUT  
WHERE GENUINE WESTERN INTERESTS LIE AS OPPOSED TO DIPLOMATIC  
NEGOTIATIONS WHOSE RESULTS, IN TERMS OF WESTERN INTERESTS,  
MAY BE DEBATABLE.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN POLICY POSITION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
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**Draft Date:** 08 MAY 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 75 MOSCOW 5822  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 08 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <08 APR 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <09 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SPANISH ASSESSMENT OF CSCE  
**TAGS:** PFOR, SP, PO, CSCE  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006